

RESEARCH PAPER

North Waziristan Agency 1910-1921

Historicism of the most violent political agency
on Western Frontier

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History repeats itself, even as an idiom it has a matter of rationality, logic and philosophy

North Waziristan Agency 1910-1921

Was constituted as a full-fledge agency in the year 1910, with its headquarters at Miran Shah. NWA covers an area of 4707 Square Kilometres. The agency lies from 32.35 degrees to 33.22 degrees latitudes and 69.22 degrees to 70.38 degrees longitudes. It is bounded on the north by Afghanistan, Kurram Agency on the east by Bannu Districts. On the south by South Waziristan Agency and on the west by Afghanistan. It comprises of Tochi, Khaisora and Shawal Valleys. It consists of generally inhospitable mountain terrain which is barren and rugged in the north except for some plain areas around Spinwam, Mir Ali, MiranShah and Datta Khel. The chief tribes in North Waziristan are the Utmanzai Wazirs and Daurs. Besides, there are small tribes like the Gurbuz, Kharsins, Saidgi and Malakshi Mahsuds. The Wazirs are from Sunni sect. The religious teachers' mullahs have influence only so far as the observance of religion, and are powerless in political matters yet they have that charisma to ignite a whole clan over a religious issue especially when it concerns the very existence of the Islam. In a mark contrast to the Baluch tribes who are loyal to one chief and obey and act on a central authority the Wazirs are an especially democratic and independent people, and even their own Maliks have little real control over them.

In 1913 Spinwam Post the (fourth post after MiranShah, Idak and Boya) was besieged by the tribes for no reason other than to carry out loot , Spinwam was also a mud fort and had an establishment of fifty scouts. The Militia carried out relief operation, which was sniped by the tribesmen. It took two months to relieve the besieged fort.

In October 1914 another Khost Lashkar descended down from the North West of MiranShah and threatened to annihilate Spinwam and MiranShah , in the end it ravaged MiranShah bazaar and serai, punitive expedition was undertaken in Ghulam Husain area. Captain A. Marjory Banks a Militia officer (52nd Sikhs) was responsible for the innovative training schedule of the troops, he was a good shot and he ensured that drill standards of Militia remain high, he served as an adjutant and also commanded right wing, he died of cholera at Datta Khel on 28th September 1914.

VICTORIA CROSS

7th January 1915 was a cold day even by the standards of North Waziristan it had rain overnight and sky remained cloudy for last two days. Captain Eustace Jotham was the wing commander at MiranShah who was in Boya Fort for last three days inspecting his troops, an officer who was always in search of an adventure, he was quite a celebrity because he had saved passengers in a rail carriage that caught fire, Jotham was standing at the other platform and rushed to save the passengers risking his own life. It was the kind of an opportunity which every young dreams of rising to the occasion. After his first brush with death and fear Jotham was eager to try his fortunate in the First Great War which had started in August 1914 and Jotham biggest fear was that it will terminate before he will see any action. It was a golden opportunity for the Afghans to settle the differences with British Government in India over the Durand Line dispute. Afghan government and especially King Abdur Rehman had been consistent in laying their claims over the Wazir country although Wazirs themselves never acknowledge any suzerainty of any one yet religious bound binds them to Kabul more than then towards British. British Empire's entry into First Great War in Europe provided the perfect opportunity to the Kabul to adjust the Durand Line.

On the morning of 7th January 1915 Captain Jotham¹ finally finished the inspection of the Khar Kamar Fort which was a mud fortified complex built in the pattern of the native construction style with a bricked Koté locked with steel doors. There were rumours of Khost Lashkar gathering at Spina Khaisora on the northern bank of Tochi River with an intention of descending down and looting the Boya Fort in a pattern similar to the MiranShah of 1914.

North Waziristan Militia was raised for this very purpose to be able to detect and protect the Tochi Pass from any lashkar and to hold them at force till the time the regular Indian Army units stationed at Mir Ali can reinforce and provide firepower. Jotham had been riding for an hour towards the west of Boya in the Khaisora Valley occasionally cracking a joke with the scouts who were all in their cheerful behaviour, Darim Shah a Wazirisowar was looking to find a Chikor and his hawk eyes were scanning the adjoining mountains. The valley is rocky and partially green at times restricting the mounted infantry to a single file and at places there was ample space for three ahead to gallop. Mounted Infantry was as name indicates an infantry mounted on horse they were not cavalry rather they use horse for movement but fight like any other infantry that is by getting dismounted and firing under cover but they were ideal outfit it was the idea of captain Dave Fergusson who insisted in having them because of inherent speed. The troopers have to be an excellent rider able to fire while galloping and being able to ride the horse between MiranShah and Idak. Horses were hardy and mountain bred normally of 14.1 hands and provided by the government in a sense that commandant paid for them thus the best one were bought from the fairs of Dera Ismail Khan occasionally the Afghan or Central Asian horse traders also brought in the heavenly horses from Fergana. Trade volume increased many folds on the Tochi Valley route after the raising of NWM. Almost every officer had his own horse rather two, officers playing Polo had many. Horse was the property of the sowar a deduction in the pay was done against the price of the horse but in return the soldier would take it to his home on leave and militia paid extra amount to the soldier for the horse maintenance, if the horse died of negligence then soldier has to replace it. On completion of service it was soldier's to take home the horse thus mounted infantry was the most elite among the North Waziristan Militia. To survive in the mounted infantry required something extra even among the militia.

The Mounted Infantry do not charge on to an enemy which in any case was rare because tribal lashkar seldom fought on a plain area presenting a concentrated target rather it was shooting at long range and closing in the gap which finally ends up in hand to hand combat. Mounted Infantry conducted their fighting after dismounting, in modern term they were a quick reaction force.

Captain Jotham reined in his horse Glasgow as he led his section of ten sowars into the narrow defile his sixth sense alerted him to something which he was unable to explain logically but one of the key factor of success and longevity of any officer in frontier warfare is to trust the instincts, all of a sudden the first shot pierced the silence of the valley and noise ricocheted, Jotham knew as did all the other that they are on the verge of an ambush, something which has been regularly taught and which the old hands knew, the best option is to gallop and get away and find a place under cover to retaliate. Jotham wheeled his horse the way he does on a polo field to asses the situation and rest all galloped amidst the dust which obscured the vision of the attackers. Young Gulrung the baby of the Gasht a newly enlisted recruit out on his first Gasht was under fire and a bullet hit the horse which stumbled and Gulrung sprang out of his saddle half of his torso was over the head of the horse when horse hit the ground, another bullet

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London Gazette 23rd July 1915. Also see The Frontier Scouts p-28.

hit Gulrung on the right thigh. Captain Jotham's mind was read by the Glasgow and galloped towards the Gulrung, behind Jotham, Darim Khan also turned back he was impressed by the valour of his officer, today he was watching something which he had only heard that White Officers are brave, how can he leave him now. Jotham fired the shots from his .30 Smith and Wesson revolver towards the marauders approaching towards the Gulrung like a pack of wolves, if only he could reach Gulrung then he can plan the next move, from the cutting of the nullah the fire was coming incessantly, Jotham reached Gulrung and instantly he was attacked by four miscreants, Jotham had the option to turn back and bolt for safety but this young man charged for the sake of his under command's safety, he took out his sword and charged in the manner of his favourite poet Tennyson's Charge of the Light Brigade, he slashed the first Afghani and cut the other to make his way to Gulrung. Meanwhile Darim took position behind a cover of stones and fired at the other; bullet hit the tribal on the thigh, he swerved felt to the side and fire back at Darim Khan. Captain Jotham picked Gulrung the way he picked a goat in Buzkushi, Gulrunghalf conscious half dead limbered and Jotham heeled on Glasgow's left and bolted, he was first hit on his right shoulder and then on his thigh but he held Gulrung positively, another Afghani with his sword stood in his way and Darim hit him in the head, Jotham bleeding profusely rode and Darim provided the cover till he was away safely.

Captain Jotham died of wounds an hour after he reached Spina Khaisora and so did SowarGulrung but Darim Khan survived to tell the tale of bravery. Waziri Lashkar. Strength was around 1500 men that poured over the Durand Line. Captain Jotham is buried at MiranShah cemetery.

Lieutenant A.E.B. Parson was the post commander at Datta Khel a mud bricked fort with high towers on both ends. Early in the morning before the first light the first shot was fired by an intruding Mahsud, Sepoy Tor Khan was the sentry at the western end and he reacted but by that time the Mahsuds were firing from the mountains, Tor Khan kept his nerves and gallantly fire back .for an hour the duel went on Tor Khan was joined in by Sepoy Amir Khan and Sepoy ZamirUllah and they kept the enemy at bay.

Major Scott led the leading relief force of 50 Mounted Infantry sowars towards Boya followed by Subedar Major Tor Khan with another platoon of twenty sowars. Lieutenant N.H. Prendergast the post commander at Boya had set out with a platoon of twenty sowars to meet the Khost Lashkar and thereby to keep the notion of victory with him, he has to see himself as to what had happened, in his youth discretion was not the better part of valour, he had yet to learn the art of frontier warfare and he got his first lesson quickly when a volley of bullets welcomes him and his militia, they scattered dismounted and took positions and returned fire which now it seems was coming from all direction. First grade DaffadarMakhmad Jan a Wazir was the first one to claim a hit when he took a shot at the hostile Waziri and saw him rolling down he knew he had killed him, it was his second kill of life the last was a year ago in his village when he lost temper with his relative for his being disrespectful to the North Waziristan Militia. He aimed another shot at what he perceived to be a human shadow. Lieutenant Prendergast's horse got the direct hit and it went limping down the ravine and so did Prendergast with his feet stuck in the saddle.

Major Scott reached just in time when the attacking Wazirs and Afghanis thought they had won the day, Scott took the positions and started firing at them and soon as per tribal warfare, the tribes realising that game has gone out of their hand started retreating. It was at this juncture that Lieutenant Prendergast emerged on the scene limping yet enthusiastic and brimming with confidence, he had just managed to run through a hail of fire, after he landed with the horse he was unconscious but soon came to

senses and crawled to safety and then bolted for the fort it was his luck and wits that saved the day for him because he just ran into a Waziri and in next instant Prendergast hit him with a stone and made his way around, and then he saw Major Scott's force. 'I want to attack them sir' were his first words and Major Scott just smiled back.

Subedar Major Tor Khan headed for the Datta Khel he knew the area like the back of his hand, he was born here and it was among these ravines and stones that he grew up and growing up for a Waziri child is not an easy thing especially when you have family blood feud running around like these water lines in the area. Tor Khan had just one love in his life; to ride and ride with a gun in his hand and shooting at all those whom he hates and at the moment he hates none more than these marauding tribes. They have dared to enter his jurisdiction because for Tor Khan the whole of North Waziristan Militia was his responsibility, welfare, discipline and above all brutality to anyone who dares to enter it without his permission. He rode in a fury towards Datta Khel.

Captain Jotham set the tradition and standards of North Waziristan Militia, where the life of an under command has to be protected even at the peril of own safety. This thus becomes the new code of life in the Militia. The area itself has its own code of life known as Pakhtunwali the Pathan code of honour which is unwritten but followed religiously. Lieutenant Prendergast's wish to attack was granted and fulfilled, he made a flanking attack. Subedar Major Tor Khan mere presence forced the attackers to seek refuge. Daffadar Makhmad Jan was killed he was wounded but his ego did not allow to fall back and he died in a hand to hand combat with another Waziri. The attacking Afghans left the area for the moment.

IDES OF MARCH, 1915.

March is a beautiful time in MiranShah the very roses and eucalyptuses start budding, the air becomes much fresh and birds start thinking of letting their young ones go out solo and it is also the time of year when tribes also set down to contemplate how to pick a feud; pretext is not difficult to provide as a minor issue over water rights can be enough for the season campaign.

This was the beginning of the Third Afghan War which started with attack on the North Waziristan Militia and for next four years NWM became the front line and vanguard of British resistance towards the influence of Kabul regime in wooing the loyalties of the Mahsud and Wazir tribes. Major Scott the Militia commandant held the durbar and took the sepoys in confidence regarding the future course of action. Major Scott was fortunate enough to have the Tor Khan as the subedar major of the Militia, his influence over the troops was absolute and his own loyalty to the militia a byword, he was brave, bold, initiative and understood the tribes better than any other person. Major Fitzpatrick the political agent of North Waziristan was another extraordinary official engraved with the working philosophy of Robert Bruce and Sir Sandeman he immediately fulfilled the deficiencies in rank and file of the militia which included releasing of funds for the fortification of the posts and purchase of horses. The regular army had 25 Cavalry Frontier Force (Lieutenant Colonel Baldwin), 29 Mountain Battery (Major F.R.Patch) and 10Jat Infantry Battalion (Lieutenant Colonel H.E.Lewis) known as Bannu movable column under command Major General H.O' Donnell later Brigadier General V.B. Fane commanded it. The plan was to lure the tribes from the mountains where they were most effective to the plains and then meet head on using fire power to destroy the tribes of Khost. Major Scott was of the opinion basing upon his personal reading of the natives that tribes will seldom accept the set pattern battle and will resort to hit and run and as such it is paramount to lay a trap on their likely route of retreat. His proposal was accepted.

On 21st March 1915 the Khost Lashkar gathered fifteen miles North West of MiranShah there was a panic among the locals because only a year ago the town was molested by the tribes and people had not yet recovered from that shock when the news of this new thunderstorm was received. MiranShah was bustling with all kind of rumours, the British troops had already arrived at MiranShah; they were bivouacked on the periphery of the fort with cavalry taking position on the north east protecting the right flank. Artillery fired shells on the likely concentration areas of the lashkar. On 28th March's evening the garrison was put on full alert which lasted till morning. At noon the tribes struck with snipers and reports were received from informers that likely direction of attack is from north with an aim to cut off the lines of communication of the garrison. Cavalry was positioned across the northern stream. Major Scott as per plan marched with his three hundred sepoys towards the South West and from there he was able to march for another four hours and finally occupied the high ground behind the invading marauders. From his vantage point he ordered fire on the tribesmen who were taken by a surprise and swiftly started leaving the arena in a disorderly manner, MiranShah was saved by the North Waziristan Militia. The focus of violence shifted towards the South Waziristan where Mahsuds played havoc with the British troops. 'Success of the action was largely due to the skilful manner in which a column under Major Scott...gained a position in the rear of enemy'²

MUSA KHAN'S COUP AT TUT NARAI.

In May 1917, a well known hostile named Musa Khan carried out an astonishing coup, Musa had already shot a Militia sepoy at Boya from the heights, the present Musa Post is named after him. Musa and his gang were short of weapons and ammunition and what place better than a militia post to make up the deficiency was his deduction. From Boya a track leads to the high peaks which were covered with wild growth, it was a favourite hunting ground in 1917 and still is. Musa along with his seven accomplices trekked from Boya at night and by first light had reached the high ground where they spend the day in rest. The objective was a post of North Waziristan Militia at Tut Narai which is located at the track junction of Datta Khel and Boya. The surroundings are green and provide ample space for hiding even for days but Musa Khan had a novel idea, he discarded the concept of getting few rifles and ammunition by ambush, he was determined to pull the biggest heist of the area. He planned to enter the post, his colleagues kept quite after his stunt at Boya there was hardly any objection to his methods. Musa Khan was an expert in making disguises, he had shot the sepoy at Boya in the disguise of a shepherd looking after his flock and now he masquerade himself and another of his companion as a woman wearing black gown.

The attack was timed during a holiday, knowing that every one but the quarter guard would be off duty, their rifles locked in the kote, the men busy in their personal administration, no patrol would be out which might discover the gang hiding in nullah and woods. The post sentry Nur Bahadur was bit perplexed to see a family of seven walking with the woman limping, 'what's the matter he asked in his Pashto, the last thing that any Pathan or a sepoy would do is to ignore a women in pain. Musa Khan played with the emotions of the soldier and narrated how his wife who is expecting a baby has fallen from his house roof, his mother is also with him and so are his brothers, can we have some food and water he requested the sentry. After disposing off the sentry the Musa Khan's gang shut the main gate and rushed towards the kote where the lone sentry was made unconscious by a rifle butt another sentry rushed

forward and Musa Khan shot him. Subedar Haibat Khan was at the other end when he heard the shot and thought that today he will put the soldier no matter who he is if it turns out to be an accidental shot. Lance Naik Masti Khan was looking after the communication which was telegraph and pigeons. He saw the action and ran towards the Morse Code when a bullet hit him in the thigh but he managed to pass the signal. Haibat Khan tried to reason with Musa Khan and soon lost temper when Musa tried to lure him into treason ‘you son of a swine how you even dare to think that Haibat Khan will go against his oath’. Haibat Khan was lucky to survive despite receiving three bullets. The hostile got away with fifty nine rifles and thousands of rounds of ammunition.

ANOTHER SIEGE OF MIRANSHAH FORT. 1919

On February 20th, 1919, Amir Habibullah of Afghanistan was slain in his tent near Jalalabad, his third son, Amir Amanullah became the king. On May 3rd, an Afghan army occupied the Khyber Pass. On 6th May British formally declare war and Third Anglo – Afghan War started. The initial success of the Afghans at Bagh convinced the major Pathan tribes in the Khyber, the Afridis and the Orakzais, that it would be safe to attack the British. The revolt by their kin proved too much for the Khyber Rifles, who deserted or went over to the Afghans and disbanded on 17th May 1919. 14 battalions of Afghan regulars under General (and future king) Nadir Shah advanced down the Kaitu Pass with artillery down the Tochi River valley into Waziristan. British weighed their options and decided to cut their losses. On May 25th the commander of the 7th (Bannu) Brigade, Brigadier General E.G. Lucas, ordered the North Waziristan Militia to evacuate its forward posts and to consolidate its position at MiranShah. ‘Isolated detachments of North Waziristan Militia were ordered in the Upper Tochi Valley to evacuate their posts and withdrew to administrative border’.³ Perhaps the stupidest blunder ever made in North West Frontier, wrote one Frontier Soldier in a letter to the editor of The Times.⁴

The Afghan offensive from Khost which commenced on 23rd May 1919 was considerably more successful when regulars and tribesmen advancing down the Kaitu Valley enlisted the support of local Wazir sections⁵. North Waziristan Militia had the conviction that if they were attacked by regular troops from Afghanistan, the Army would come for their help. But with the onset of invasion there were no troops to spare; North Waziristan Militia evacuated all posts in the Upper Tochi. From Datta Khel, Tut Narai, Spina Khaisora and Boya to Dardoni. The decision might have been correct militarily but politically it was disastrous and most Militia officers thought it was unwise. The sight of Militia burning their stores and marching out of their posts seemed clear evidence that the British were on the run. On 25th May 1919, the posts of Shewa and Spinwam were withdrawn in a very difficult rear-guard action across open country. The troops had hardly left the burning fort of Spinwam when Afghans and Wazirs were in it, only three hundred yards behind them. They were chased by Wazirs all the way back to Idak. The situation was most serious in MiranShah. To support the loyal elements in the garrison there were only

³ Timothy Robert *passing it on, the Army in India and the Development of Frontier Warfare 1849 –1947*, Thesis submitted for Degree of Doctor of Philosophy King's College University of London, 1995. pp., 167- 170.

⁴ *The Times*, September 5, 1921, page 9, column 5.

⁵ *Passing it on*, p -169.

two companies of the 1/4 Gurkha who were loyal and dependable. British had promised lucrative rewards for native troops of Militia if they remained loyal.⁶

27th May 1919 was a hot day and Major Scott the commandant hardly had a wink of sleep and it was not because of the hot weather but the fact that since the defection of Khyber Rifles the air within the MiranShah Fort also seems to be infected with the germs of treason. He had a late night meeting with the other three British officers pondering over the course available. It was irony of fate that almost sixty years ago in May 1857 a similar insubordination of sepoys led to a wide spread popular uprising a War of Independence, is the history going to repeat itself here at MiranShah, that was the only topic which occupied not only his but also the minds of fellow British officers. They all were solid in their conviction that MiranShah will be a Lucknow Residency. Not more than hundred yards from the officers mess a heated debate and discussion also went all night long. JemadarTarin a Tori Khel Wazir and also the adjutant was quoting from Koran and Hadith to urge his fellow soldiers to rise and kill all the British Officers and then join hands with the Afghans, he was supported by Subedar Paki Jan a Madda Khel Wazir decorated for his bravery. Subedar Major Tor Khan and Subedar Darim Khan listened to all the arguments which more or less now took the shape of a Jirga. Koran says be loyal to your officers was the reply of Tor Khan because to him there was nothing more important and sacred than to honour the words of loyalty given to the British Officers, Darim Khan was also rock solid in his loyalty. By the time the Fajr prayers were called by the maulvi there was no decision. Darim and Tor Khan had reached one conclusion that if the officers are attacked than they will not spare the culprits short of that they will remain neutral.

Major Scott was having a cup of tea in the mess lawn and thinking of his life and where he went wrong in his assessment of native character, he was confident that the troops will remain loyal, he was considering of ordering a parade and addressing the soldiers. The moment he saw the native adjutant and Tor Khan along with Darim Khan he knew that he is late in making his move and time has come for the last stand. They all saluted to the commandant and then JemadarTarin mustered courage and addressed him ‘Sahib you know the situation, it is Jihad a religious war and i cannot serve you anymore and as such i am quitting’.

They (deserters) did not attack the officers and an Orakzai platoon formed a cordon around the officer’s mess to protect it. The Khattaks in the garrison remained loyal, Gurkha held the wall and gates so that the Wazir platoons could not get out. It was almost impossible to separate the loyal Khattaks from the disloyal Wazirs and the Afridi and Orakzai of doubtful loyalty. Only eleven Wazirs including Darim Khan and Zari Gul who later became subedars in Tochi Scouts refused to join with their fellow tribesmen and soldiers. British officers were helpless spectators of their world crumbling beneath them but neither hand nor voice was raised against them and they also acted in a mature manner understanding that tribal loyalty and bond is much stronger than the uniform. When the darkness fell on 27th May, all the soldiers who wanted to leave were allowed to leave but without weapon; on this they dug a hole through the northern mud wall of the fort and left with their rifles.

There were mass desertions in the South Waziristan Militia also; all in all 1100 deserters took away 1190 rifles and over 700,000 rounds of ammunition. Idak, Dardoni and Jandola were all attacked. Between 9th August and 18th November, 1919, Mahsud and Wazir raiders committed 182 outrages in

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. British Cabinet Papers, War Cabinet No. G.T. 7311, Copy No.31, Letter of Viceroy of India dated 21st May 1919.

adjacent areas of Zhob, Derajat and the Punjab in which they killed 225 inhabitants of the settled area, wounding and kidnapping 400 more.

On 4th June 1919 the relief column from Bannu managed to evict Afghan lashkar and Waziri tribesmen from MiranShah and Dardoni. British managed to pull a stunning reversal of fortunes mainly due to their supremacy in air; they struck at Kabul through Handley-Page bomber of Royal Air Force⁷. An armistice went into effect from 3rd June 1919 and formal peace treaty was signed on 8th August at Rawalpindi.

The British terms of peace were rejected by the Wazirs ‘ The Viceroy reported on 11th November 1919 that the Mahsuds had refused the terms offered them, and that no reply had been received from the Tochi Wazirs...considerable damage has been done by our aircraft...three turbulent sections of Ismail Khel, Machas and Achars had been intentionally and contumaciously absent when the Kazha Madda Khel Jirga presented itself at Datta Khel on 18th November...on following day air operations were undertaken enbloc against the villages of Ismail Khel and ZuramAtsar and the desired result achieved.’⁸

The war was officially over with the Afghanistan but the tribes remained engaged in carrying out costly and lives taking raids and ambushes. Major Scott and North Waziristan Militia conducted several operations in conjunction with regular army to eliminate the menace but it was partial success as there is no such thing as permanent peace in Tochi Valley. British deployed 29,256 combatants with 33,987 non-combatants in support to clear the area and to curb this menace there were six infantry brigades supported by cavalry and artillery brigades apart from Royal Air Force aircraft. Force commander was Major General SkiptonClimo. One of the most serious aspects of the war was the consideration to use chemical gas for elimination of the tribes.⁹

DATTA KHEL

On 18th November 1919 Tochi Valley was reoccupied without resistance by two brigades, the Tochi Column advanced from Dardoni on 13th November and reoccupied Datta Khel on 15th November 1919 ‘on arrival at Datta Khel column was met by local Wazirs who brought in supplies and apologised for past misdeeds’¹⁰. It took much more time in South Waziristan and casualties were quite high. On 27th July 1921 Tochi Valley was again in forefront when a major skirmish took place in which five soldiers of North Waziristan Militia were wounded.¹¹ They were ambushed in the Ahmed Khel area close to Boya. The hell broke loose on 11th December 1921¹² when over 500 tribesmen attacked the British convoy

⁷ British Cabinet Report, British Empire, No.5 dated 26th November 1919. Telegraph of Viceroy of India No. 15710.

⁸ Cabinet Papers, British Empire Report No.5 26th November 1919. Serial No.103. Secret.

⁹ Passing it on, p-174.

¹⁰ The Times November 20th 1919, Page 12, column 5.

¹¹ British cabinet Papers, British Empire No.49 Dated 4th August 1921, Viceroy Telegram No. 1346.

¹² The Times, December 15th 1921, page 12, column 6.

moving from Datta Khel to Muhammad Khel, North Waziristan Militia was part of this convoy, there were over 70 casualties of army. Deserters of NWM were part of the attacking force but they did not fired upon their old comrades.